

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (JAVITS, JACOB K.)

SUBJECT: CODEL JAVITS

1. SUMMARY: SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS MADE A BRIEF BUT PRODUCTIVE VISIT TO LIMA ON JANUARY 8-9 TO MEET WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND WITH LOCAL BUSINESSMEN, SENATOR JAVITS WANTED TO OBTAIN IMPRESSION OF CURRENT PERUVIAN SITUATION AND TO ESTABLISH PERSONAL CONTACT WITH TOP-LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF NEW MORALES BERMUDEZ GOVERNMENT. DURING HIS VISIT OF APPROXIMATELY 21 HOURS, SENATOR JAVITS MET WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND THE MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE (CONVERSATIONS SUMMARIZED BELOW). HE ALSO MET WITH GROUPS OF AMERICAN AND PERUVIAN BUSINESSMEN, HELD TWO PRESS CONFERENCES (RESULTS OF THESE CONFERENCES BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY), AND VISITED THE ADELA HEADQUARTERS IN LIMA. END SUMMARY.

2. MEETING WITH MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE DR. LUIS BARUA. SENATOR JAVITS EXPRESSED HIS PLEASURE AT MEETING THE FIRST CIVILIAN CABINET MINISTER NAMED BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1968. BASED IN PART ON HIS PREVIOUS MEETING WITH U.S. BUSINESSMEN OPERATING IN PERU, HE NOTED TWO BASIC QUESTIONS FACING PERU IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD:

A. DOES A MARKET ECONOMY (INCLUDING THE PARTICIPATION OF MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES) HAVE ANY PLACE IN THE NEW PERU; AND,

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B. IF SO, HOW CAN THE RULES OF THE GAME BE EXPLAINED TO FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN TO ALLOW THEM TO TAKE THE NECESSARY RISKS WHICH THEIR INVESTMENT ENTAILS.

A FURTHER BASIC QUESTION CONCERNED WHAT USE PERU COULD MAKE OF THE TECHNOLOGY OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND WHAT INDUCEMENTS IT COULD OFFER TO ATTRACT PUBLIC AS WELL AS PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT. THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, SAID JAVITS, ARE THE SOURCE OF VERY USEFUL TECHNOLOGY AND INVESTMENT; MULTINATIONALS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT THE ONLY SOURCE OF INVESTMENT FOR PERU. THERE ARE MANY INVESTORS WHO WOULD BE INTERESTED IN INVESTING IN PERU, EVEN AT A SOMEWHAT REDUCED RATE OF RETURN, IF THERE COULD BE SAFETY OF THEIR INVESTMENT. ONE MAJOR PROBLEM THAT U.S. BUSINESSMEN MENTIONED TO HIM WAS THAT IT IS NOW IMPOSSIBLE TO FIRE BAD EMPLOYEES. EMPLOYERS SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO PAY ALSO FOR SOCIAL BENEFITS (THAT IS, MAINTENANCE OF HIGH EMPLOYMENT LEVEL).

3. MINISTER BARUA EXPLAINED THE BASIC CHANGES THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE IN PERU SINCE 1968. VERY IMPORTANT WAS LAND REFORM AND THE ELIMINATION OF THE DUALISTIC ECONOMY WHICH EXISTED WHEREBY ONE SMALL GROUP ENJOYED A VERY HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING WHILE THE GREAT MAJORITY EXISTED AT BELOW SUBSISTENCE LEVELS. REGARDING MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, THEY MUST ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE PUBLIC SECOTR NOW SETS INVESTMENT STRATEGY AND THAT THE HIGHEST PRIORITY FIELD IS NOW SOCIAL PROPERTY. (HIGH CONCEPTUALLY, HE ADDED, BUT LOW, BETWEEN ONE AND TWO PERCENT, IN TERMS OF NATIONAL BUDGET.) IN SOCIAL PROPERTY, THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES PART OF THE INITIAL CAPITAL, THE ENTERPRISE IS OWNED BY THE WORKERS, BUT WHEN THE WORKER LEAVES THE FIRM HE DOES NOT TAKE WITH HIM ANY OF THE CAPITAL OF THE ENTERPRISE. THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY IS AN ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT. THIS PARTICIPATION IS DIFFICULT FOR BOTH MANAGEMENT AND LABOR, BUT THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS THAT LABOR IS STARTING TO ACCEPT THIS NEW ROLE. THE REMAINING SECTOR IS SMALL (COMMERCIAL TYPE) ENTERPRISES WHICH WILL SOON BE REGULATED BY A LAW NOW UNDER PREPARATION. THIS SMALL ENTERPRISE SECTOR IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NEEDED BECAUSE IT PROVIDES INVESTMENT AND EMPLOYMENT. THE PROBLEM OF PRODUCTIVITY IS TIED TO THE PROBLEM OF WORKER DISCIPLINE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE THE EXACT FUTURE OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS. SOUTHERN PERU COPPER CORPORATION (SPCC) IS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT GREATLY APPRECIATED BY THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IS NOW STUDYING THE FUTURE ROLE FOR FOREIGN PETROLEUM COMPANIES. HE SAW TWO

GREAT PROBLEMS IN PERU:

A. PARTICIPATION OF WORKERS (THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY
AND SOCIAL PROPERTY FORMATS), AND

B. PRODUCTIVITY AND STABILITY.

4. SENATOR JAVITS ALSO EXPLAINED TO THE MINISTER THAT
A CLIMATE WAS DEVELOPING IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, AS
SET FORTH IN THE PENDING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION,
TO INCREASE ASSISTANCE FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. PERU,
AS A COUNTRY THAT HAD KREADY CARRIED OUT A LAND DISTRIBUTION
PROGRAM, IS IN A PARTICULARLY GOOD POSITION TO RECEIVE
BENEFITS FROM THIS NEW EMPHASIS ON ASSISTING AGRICULTURE.

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5. MEETING WITH MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS GENERAL
MIQUEL ANGEL DE LA FLOR. THE MINISTER GAVE THE STANDARD
GOP ANALYSIS OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION AND OF
BILATERAL PROBLEMS WITH THE U.S. HE LISTED THE MOST
IMPORTANT POINTS FOR PERU AS:

A. RESTRUCTURING OF OAS;

B. ANDEAN PACT DEVELOPMENTS;

C. SELA; AND

D. GSP (WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A COERCIVE LAW WHICH
NOW ONLY AFFECTS ECUADOR AND VENEZUELA, BUT WHICH
MIGHT BE APPLIED TO PERU IF IT JOINS PRODUCER

GROUPS SIMILAR TO OPEC).

THE MINISTER EMPHASIZED THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR CURRENT IRRITANTS IS THE EXISTENCE OF COERCIVE AMENDMENTS WHICH, EVEN IF NOT APPLIED, ARE STILL A THREAT TO ALL COUNTRIES. HE CONSIDERED THAT THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION IS THE MAJOR POLITICAL PROBLEM FACING THE U.S. IN LATIN AMERICA, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT A PROBLEM BETWEEN THE U.S. AND PERU. WITH REGARD TO COMMODITY PRICES, DE LA FLOR SAID, THE PRICE OF OIL IS NOT THE ONLY PROBLEM; PRICES OF OTHER COMMODITIES ALSO POSE A MAJOR PROBLEM. PRICES OF MANUFACTURED ITEMS, INCLUDING FOODSTUFFS, HAVE NOT DECREASED. THEY MOVE ONLY IN AN UPWARD DIRECTION. COPPER PRICES WENT UP SHARPLY AND THEN DECREASED. THE PRICES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF MANUFACTURED ITEMS MADE FROM COPPER DID NOT DECREASE. PERU BELIEVES THAT THERE SHOULD BE A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RAW MATERIAL PRICES AND MANUFACTURED ITEMS. SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD AVOID SITUATIONS SIMILAR TO THE PETROLEUM PRICE SITUATION AND WOULD AVOID USER COUNTRIES BEING TAKEN BY SURPRISE. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, THE PARIS CONFERENCE IS VERY IMPORTANT. FOR THE FIRST TIME THERE IS A FACE-TO-FACE MEETING BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. HE HOPED SOMETHING WOULD COME FROM IT. MEASURES TO HELP THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ARE NOT A PERMANENT SOLUTION TO CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. PERU ALSO APPRECIATES THE WORLD FUND INITIATIVE SET FORTH BY DR. KISSINGER AND NOW UNDER DISCUSSION IN PARIS.

6. SENATOR JAVITS EMPHASIZED THAT THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER IS IN JEOPARDY BECAUSE OF THE UNJUSTIFIABLY HIGH PRICE OF OIL. THIS IS THE RESULT OF THE USE OF MONOPOLY POWER BY THE PRODUCING COUNTRIES. THE INCREASE IN PETROLEUM PRICES DIVERTED A LARGE AMOUNT OF PURCHASING POWER TO COUNTRIES INCAPABLE OF SPENDING THIS PURCHASING POWER. IF OTHER RAW MATERIAL PRODUCERS DO THE SAME THING THE U.S. MUST DEFEND ITSELF. THIS IS A FUNCTION OF SOVEREIGNTY. SENATOR JAVITS FURTHER STATED THAT HE AGREED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT ENFORCE SANCTIONS ON AMERICAN STATES BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH A MORE RATIONAL LEVEL OF PETROLEUM PRICES WERE CARRIED OUT. PERU MUST UNDERSTAND THE U.S. POSITION. IF SANCTIONS ARE CANCELLED ON ECUADOR AND VENEZUELA, IT IS LOGICAL TO ASK THE OAS WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH REGARD TO THE OVERALL PROBLEM OF PETROLEUM PRICES. THERE MUST BE SOME RECOGNITION OF THE PROBLEM AND SOME COLLECTIVE ACTION TO SOLVE IT. U.S. PUBLIC OPINION IS OUTRAGED ON THE PETROLEUM PRICE ISSUE. TO CHANGE THIS ATTITUDE THERE MUST BE SOME HELP FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE THE FIRST STEP, BUT THERE MUST BE SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE OAS. THE PETROLEUM PRICE PROBLEM AFFECTS ALL THE COUNTRIES. ALL COUNTRIES ARE BEING PUNISHED. SANCTIONS ARE BAD, BUT THERE MUST BE SOME COLLECTIVE ACTION BY THE AMERICAN STATES TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE. THE KISSINGER STATEMENTS WERE MADE WITH CONGRESSIONAL ADVICE AND SUPPORT. THE U.S. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NOW DOES NOT EXCLUDE ANY MEANS OF STABILIZING PRICES. IF, HOWEVER, ALL PRODUCER GROUPS WOULD COMBINE AND GET EVERYTHING THEY WANT, WORLD PRODUCTION WOULD BECOME UNECONOMIC. THE U.S. CAN BECOME MUCH MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN MANY OF ITS NECESSARY RAW MATERIALS. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT CONSIDER THE PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS AS THE SOLE DETERMINANT OF DEVELOPMENT. THEY ALSO NEED TECHNOLOGY AND KNOWLEDGE TO INCREASE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING.

7. THE MINISTER AGREED THAT A COUNTRY THAT DOES NOT AIM AT BALANCED DEVELOPMENT WILL NOT PROSPER. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IS STILL VERY IMPORTANT. WHEN RAW MATERIALS PRODUCING COUNTRIES CANNOT ACHIEVE A MECHANISM FOR REVALUATION OF ITEMS IMPORTANT FOR THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND WHEN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES NEED RAW MATERIALS, THERE MUST BE AN ATTEMPT MADE TO IMPROVE PRICES OR TO READJUST PRICES BY FORMING PRODUCER ASSOCIATIONS.

8. THE SENATOR POINTED OUT THAT PRODUCER ASSOCIATIONS LEAD TO MONOPOLY SITUATIONS, WHICH PUT DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AT THE MERCY OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THERE MUST BE SOME COMPROMISES MADE. ONE COMPROMISE IS THE ACCEPTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS. ANOTHER COMPROMISE IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FLOW OF FUNDS TO HELP THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND TO OFFSET A FALL IN RAW MATERIALS PRICES. NO SINGLE COMPROMISE WILL WORK. MONOPOLY WILL NOT WORK NOR WILL ANOTHER EXTREME. R. KISSINGER'S APPROACH IS USEFUL BECAUSE IT INCLUDES A VARIETY OF METHODS. THE SENATOR ALSO EXPLAINED THE PENDING AID LEGISLATION AND ITS EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND THE OPPORTUNITY THIS PROVIDES PERU TO INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY IN ITS AGRICULTURAL SECTOR. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION IS NOT WELL KNOWN IN THE U.S. AND NOW THAT THE MARCONA PROBLEM IS ON THE WAY TO BEING SETTLED, A NEW PICTURE CAN BE PRESENTED TO U.S. PUBLIC OPINION.

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9. MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FRANCISCO MORALES BERMUDEZ. THE SENATOR REGRETTED THAT HE HAD TO CUT SHORT HIS TRIP TO PERU. HOWEVER, HE HAD MET WITH THE MINISTERS OF ECONOMY AND OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND ENGAGED IN SOME VERY USEFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. HE WOULD REPORT TO HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE THE RESULTS OF HIS VISIT TO PERU. HE WANTED TO SPEAK VERY FRANKLY BECAUSE THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY HE COULD BE USEFUL TO PERU. PUBLIC OPINION IN THE U.S. IS NOT SYMPATHETIC TO MILITARY GOVERNMENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN POWER WITHOUT ELECTIONS AND WHICH ARE CARRYING OUT REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMS. PUBLIC OPINION CAN, HOWEVER, UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS THAT NECESSITATE SUCH A TAKEOVER AS LONG AS HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED AND AS LONG AS PROGRESS IS MADE TOWARD ELECTIONS.

10. TH PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT THE PERUVIAN POLITICAL PROCESS IS NOT EASY. IT WOULD NOT BE PATRIOTIC OR USEFUL TO PRECIPITATE POLITICAL RESULTS. THE GOVERNMENT MUST CONSIDER CAREFULLY VARIOUS FACTORS. THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIANS; THEY ARE ALL PERUVIANS. THE GOVERNMENT IS UNDER A GREAT DEAL OF PRESSURE ON ANY MEASURES IT TAKES, EVEN IN THE SHORT-RUN. THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT WITH REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. SOME POLITICAL PROBLEMS HAD DEVELOPED. BOTH COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, HAVE MANY POINTS IN COMMON. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN PERU ARE MOSTLY DUE TO EXTERNAL FACTORS. THE BEST TYPE OF COOPERATION DEVELOPED COUNTRIES COULD OFFER IS THE ADOPTION OF RATIONAL MEASURES

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ON FOREIGN TRADE WHICH IS VITAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
LESSER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

11. SENATOR JAVITS CONCLUDED BY POINTING OUT THAT NOW
THAT THE MARCONA PROBLEM IS ON ITS WAY TO A SOLUTION,
PERU COULD USE THE SETTLEMENT AS A LAUNCHING PAD TO
STIMULATE RENEWED INTEREST IN FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT
IN PERU. HE HOPED THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD ESTABLISH
A HIGH LEVEL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN
(AMERICAN AS WELL AS PERUVIAN AND OTHER NATIONALITIES)
TO EXPLAIN TO FOREIGN COMPANIES THE SITUATION IN
PERU AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION. AFTER TALKING TO
MEMBERS OF THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT, HE BELIEVED THAT
SUCH AN ADVISORY GROUP WOULD WORK. THE SENATOR POINTED
OUT THAT U.S. BUSINESSMEN IN PERU REALIZE THAT IF THEY
ARE TO REMAIN IN PERU THEY MUST CONFORM WITH THE SPIRIT
OF THE REVOLUTION. THERE IS ALSO A NEW ATTITUDE IN
CONGRESS, JAVITS SAID, WHICH EMPHASIZES AGRICULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT. THE SENATOR SUGGESTED THAT PERU COULD BE
ONE OF THE FIRST COUNTRIES THAT COULD REALLY TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF THIS NEW TREND IN FOREIGN AID. THE
PRESIDENT EXPRESSED AN INTEREST TO FOLLOW UP THIS
POSSIBILITY.

12. COMMENT: IN ALL OF HIS MEETINGS, SENATOR JAVITS
EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS NOT SPEAKING OFFICIALLY FOR THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT, BUT RATHER AS A SENATOR WITH AN INTEREST
IN AND PRIOR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PERU. HE WAS MET WITH
COURTESY BY ALL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND HIS REMARKS
PROVED USEFUL IN EXPLAINING TO GOP OFFICIALS THE VIEW-
POINT OF CONGRESS ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL
ISSUES. THESE VIEWS, COMING AS THEY DID FROM A SENIOR
AND PRESTIGIOUS CONGRESSIONAL LEADER, CARRIED CONSIDER-
ABLE WEIGHT. NEVERTHELESS, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE
MANY OTHER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES WHICH LIMIT
THE OPTIONS OF THE MORALES BERMUDEZ REGIME, IT REMAINS
TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE GOP WILL CHOOSE TO PICK UP ANY
OF THE SENATOR'S IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS.
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